

THE TREATMENT OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA.

(From the Times, February 20.)

The correspondence respecting the treatment of the Jews in Russia which has been received by the Foreign Office occupies Parliamentary Paper, "Russia, No. 1, 1882," of nearly 30 pages. The reports, which begin in May of last year, come from Sir Edward Thornton, Mr. Wyndham, said Vice-Consul Law at St Petersburg, Colonel Maude at Warsaw, Consul-General Stanley at Odessa, Consul Wooldridge at Taganrog, and Vice-Consul Wagstaff at Nikolnieff. The early despatches, written in May, give accounts of the riots at Elizabethgrad, Kieff, Smerinka, and other places. Writing on May 23, Consul-General Stanley gives an account of the disturbances on the 15th of that month at Odessa. These were never serious, he says, like those at Elizabethgrad and Kieff; the energetic measures taken by the Governor-General, Prince Dondoukoff-Korsakoff, kept the people down. The Consul-General adds the following remarks on the nature of the outbreaks: -

"Not a person I have spoken to but thinks that the recent outbreaks against the Jews throughout South Russia were fomented by those who used the Jews as a pretext, and who wished to cause general disturbance and disaffection, in the same manner as they previously fomented incendiarism, and, as there is reason to fear, will again do so. Among other results hoped for by them was the hostility which would be aroused against Government by the quantity of innocent people who would certainly be arrested, as is always the case on any disturbance occurring in Russia.

"It is generally believed that Russians feel hatred and contempt for the Jews. The upper, or rather middle classes - for of what in Western Europe would be considered upper classes I have only met a handful - certainly have an unreasoning feeling against them, and a Jew get rarely get into a club; but I do not think the mass of the nation has any hatred against them. They live together in the villages on perfectly friendly terms, and on the rare occasions when they have been attacked the motive has been not hatred, but plunder.

"Unfortunately the policy of the Government towards them has, till very recently, given Russians some warrant for believing they may with impunity prove their superiority in one quality, namely, brute force.

"The Jews are also frequently spoken of as only exercising the trades of usurers and money lenders, but this is far from correct. In the villages they certainly often are money-lenders, and charge a very high interest, but the peasants can get advances on no terms from any others, the risk of repayment being great, the debtor being as anxious to defraud the Jew creditor as the latter is to get high interest. The only shops in the villages are kept by Jews, and were they prevented from keeping them the Russian peasant would be deprived of many necessities, or have to pay a much higher price for them. The gin-shops in the villages might with advantage be suppressed, but Government deliberately allows them.

"As to their business generally, nearly the whole legitimate grain trade of South Russia is in their hands. Among the leading bankers, merchants, and shopkeepers are Jews. In Odessa and most towns in South Russia the majority of the shops are kept by Jews.

"Finally, as to their character, for honesty, nearly every foreign business establishment in South Russia largely employs them in confidential situations, and were Jews to leave South Russia trade would entirely collapse."

On June 3, Consul Woodridge sent a report from Taganrog on the subject, giving some account of disturbances which had taken place at Berdiansk, Melitopol, Tacnac, Alexandrovak, und Mariapol. In several of these towns the property of the Jews had been plundered, and the Jews themselves had been driven out, but Mr. Woolridge doubted whether any

lives had been lost, and strong repressive measures had been taken. The riots at Odessa and Kieff form the subject of a memorandum drawn up by Vice-Consul Law at St. Petersburg on June 14, after visiting the disturbed districts in south-west Russia. At Odessa the outbreaks lasted nearly a week, and many drinking shops, houses of ill-fame, and small dealers' stores belonging to Jews were touched, but he did not hear of any severe personal injuries. The amount of direct damage done was estimated not to exceed £10,000. At Kieff the riots commenced about midday on Sunday, May 1, and lasted, unchecked, till late on Monday afternoon. Not till then did the Governor-General, General Drenteln, order the troops to fire on the mob. The establishments and private homes of the Jews were sacked in every direction, but they were not generally maltreated, though it was said some 20 were killed at night in the suburbs of the town. When Mr. Law visited Kieff there were in the temporary shelter provided by the authorities 762 Jewish families, comprising 3150 individuals, of whom 20 per cent. were adult males. They were in a starving condition and being fed by Government. After despatches giving accounts of Anti-Jewish riots at Borispol and Nieschen, we have the following extract it from a letter from Consul-General Stanley to Lord Granville, dated Odessa, August 1:-

"I have the honour to enclose copy of a memorandum by Mr. Vice-Consul Wagstaff on the anti-semitic movement in South Russia.

"Mr. Wagstaff has evidently paid great attention to the subject, and his views appear well worthy of consideration. I cannot, however, agree with all the conclusions he draws from the facts.

"I do not think, though I admit this is a moot point, that the peasant class have any hatred against the Jew as Jew, and I believe close examination will show that the riots had a political end, and that in every instance of an anti-Jew riot the peasants have been incited to it by those who used for their own purposes their love of drink and hope of plunder.

"The destruction of the bank notes at Kieff appears on investigation to be not proved.

"I have, &c., "G. E. STANLEY."

This is the enclosure: -

"The population of New Russia, estimated at 6,000,000 is composed essentially of Little Russians 4,600,000, of 700,000 Jews, and about the same number of Moldavians, German colonists, and other nationalities.

"In the Western provinces of New Russia (annexed from Poland) the Little Russians also form the larger number of the rural population, whereas the proprietors are mostly Poles; the Jews principally inhabit the towns.

"There has ever existed in Russia between the Christian and the Jew an inveterate hatred, engendered less by religious fanaticism than by exploitation and abuses.

"The Jews in Russia do not share, in common with other subjects of the realm, the same rights. For instance, no career is open to them in the service of the State, except the medical profession; they may have become engineers and sworn attorneys. Residence in the interior of the empire is restricted to certain districts, and in the capital to only a small number of First Guild merchants.

"These restrictions are partly the cause that the Jews have almost exclusively directed their attention to commerce. This branch being open to them, and with their characteristic spirit of speculation, they are fast monopolising the trade of the country; and indeed, it is difficult to see how commerce could be carried on without them in South Russia, as there is a complete absence of energy and enterprise in the native.

"It must be acknowledged that the reasons of their success are their sober, laborious, and thrifty habits, and the mental superiority they possess over the lower classes. Nothing is beyond the enterprising nature of the Jew, and if he only receive a small return on his capital he is soon able to outstrip his competitors, whose habit of living demands a larger expenditure, and consequently handicaps them in the race.

"It is chiefly as brokers or middlemen that the Jews are so prominent. Seldom a business transaction of any kind takes place without their intervention, and from both sides they receive compensation.

"To enumerate some of their other occupations, constantly denounced by the public: - They are the principal dealers in spirits, keepers of 'vodka' (drinking) shops and houses of ill-fame, receivers of stolen goods, alleged pawnbrokers and usurers.

"A branch they also succeed in is as Government contractors. With their knowledge of handling money, they collude with unscrupulous officials in defrauding the State to vast amounts annually.

"In fact, the malpractices of some of the Jewish community have a bad influence on those whom they come in contact with.

"It must, however, be said that there are many well-educated, highly-respectable, and honourable Jews established in Russia; but they form a small minority. This class is not treated upon in this paper. They thoroughly condemn the occupation of their lower brethren, and one of the results of the late disturbances is noticed in the movement at present among the Jews. They themselves acknowledges the abuses practiced by some of their own members, and suggest remedial measures to allay the irritation existing among the working classes.

"Another thing the Jews are accused of is, that there exists among them a system of 'Boycotting;' they use their religion for business purposes. This is expressed by the words 'Koul,' or 'Kagal' 'Kherim.' For instance, in Bessarabia, the produce of a vineyard is drawn for by lot, and falls to say, Jacob Levy; the other Jews of the distraut cannot compete with Levy, who buys the wine at his own price.

"In the leasing of auction of Government and provincial lands, it is invariably a Jew who outbids the others, and afterwards relets plots to the peasantry at exorbitant prices. Very crying abuses of farming out land have lately come to light and greatly shocked public opinion.

"Again, where estates are farmed by Jews, it is distressing to see the pitiable condition in which they are handed over on the expiration of the lease. Experience also shows they are very bad colonists.

"Their fame as usurers is well known. Given a Jewish recruit with a few roubles capital, it can be worked out, mathematically, what time it

will take for him to become the money-lender of his company or regiment, from the drummer to the colonel.

"Take the case of a peasant - if he once gets into the hands of this class he is irretrievably lost. The proprietor, in his turn, from a small loan gradually mortgages and eventually loses his estate. A great deal of landed property in South Russia has of late years passed into the hands of the Israelites; but principally into the hands of intelligent but sober peasants.

"From first to last, the Jew has his hand in everything. He advances the seed for sowing, which is generally returned in kind - quarters for bushels. As harvest time comes money is required to gather in the crops. This is sometimes advanced on hard conditions: but the peasant has no choice, there is no one to lend him money, and it is better to secure something than to lose all. Very often the Jew buys the whole crop as it stands in the field on his own terms.

"It is thus seen that they themselves do not raise agricultural products; but they reap the benefits of others' labour, and steadily become rich, while proprietors are gradually getting ruined. In their relation to Russia they are compared to parasites that have settled on a plant not vigorous enough to throw them off, and which is being gradually sapped of its vitality.

"In Western Europe and America, the Jews identify themselves with the country they inhabit, and form part of the body politic of the nation, sharing all its views and aspirations, whereas in Russia they are quite a distinct caste in habits, thought, language, and, in a measure, dress. There is nothing in common between the Russian and the Jew. The latter lives entirely apart, and only frequents certain places of rendezvous for business purposes.

"The exact position of the Jews in Russia is often misunderstood abroad by the brethren, who judge from their own vantage-ground, and, in expressing sympathy with their co-religionists in Russia, overlook the position the Jews hold in this country and the relations existing between them and the native population. The word 'Jid', as applied in Russia to the

Jew, is synonymous with everything vile and despicable. He is looked upon as the bane of society, no matter the position he enjoys.

After giving an account of the riots in various places, the Vice Consul continues: -

"On carefully investigating the causes of the outbreak, one is led to conclude that the main question at issue between the Russian and the Jew is purely economic.

"Successive bad crops have reduced the rural population to poverty, and in some districts to actual famine. Last spring nearly the whole population was out of employment. The Emperor's assassination has convulsed society. Great uneasiness everywhere prevailed. Add to this abnormal condition a large portion of envy at the prosperity of the Jews, and it will be understood that the slightest provocation on their part was sufficient to cause an explosion of long pent-up hatred against them. The match once lighted at Elizabethgrad was the signal for a general uprising.

"They first attacked the 'vodka' shops - the working man's greatest enemy. This they recognized, but they cannot control their propensity for drink.

"The effects of the 'vodka' soon told upon the rioters Thereupon they commenced to stave in the barrels of spirits and wine until the cellars and streets were flooded. In a besotted condition they roamed about and damaged and destroyed everything they came across belonging to the Jews, whom they likewise illtreated.

"The destruction of such a large amount of property is condemned by right-minded people of every nationality.

"Among many other much-needed liberal reforms is the abolition of Jewish disabilities, and granting to them equal rights with the native. A policy of assimilating the Jews into the body of the Russian nation ought to be pursued. This large, intelligent class (about 3,500,000) could be utilized by the Government in several directions, especially in developing commerce and industry in many parts of the empire where natural wealth exists, but, for want of enterprise in the native, lies barren. The first result

of such a measure would be to draw off from the southern and western provinces a large number of Jews. Then they would not be so prominent in these parts; the tension on society would be relieved, and the struggle for existence not so deeply felt which is now the excuse for the nefarious practices adopted by the lower class of Israelites.

"If, however, nothing is done to incorporate the Jews and to lessen the differences existing between them and the native Russians, the two nations will become more embittered and estranged, and most probably the wealthier among the Jews will leave the country. This would be a great loss to Russia, but more so to the indigent Israelites, who are at present supported by their richer brethren.

"It has been sought by some to give to the whole movement a political character, that it was forged and directed by the member of the Executive Committee of the Revolutionary party. This has not been maintained by fact, and, as far as I can learn, the movement was entirely spontaneous on the part of the rural and working population. It is, however, probable that, later on, they were instigated by Russian tradesmen, jealous of the Jews. Owing to the keen competition the latter bring into all branches of commerce, they will soon command the markets. The ranks of the rioters were doubtless swelled by some whose object was to pillage, and by many who wished to indulge in their besetting sin - drunkenness.

"The Nihilists did not commence the movement, although they profited by the subsequent disorder to keep the country for some time in a very unsettled state. False proclamations were issued by them, and other means employed to create an uprising. That they partly succeeded is seen from the depositions of some peasants, 'that they were ordered to plunder the Jews,' although at Kieff thousands of roubles were torn into shreds by them and scattered in the streets

"This Jewish question, which is now being attentively examined, is of great moment to Russia and a source of anxiety to the Imperial Government. It is expected that new laws will be published prohibiting the issuing of licenses for the sale of spirits in retail by Jews, and restricting the number of vodka shops, especially in the villages. It is in those dens the hard earnings of the peasant and workman are swallowed up. The rural economy of South Russia requires revision, the labour

question and the relative position of master and servant must be properly defined. The Provincial Assemblies must come to the aid of the peasant by founding banks and thus render him independant of the Jew. Markets must be established for the sale of produce, and the present system of factoring or brokering reorganized. The leasing of land must be controlled, and the farming interests of the country better protected.

"Until something is done to ameliorate the condition of the peasant, there is no knowing when another outbreak may take place. In fact, the possibility of such an event seems to have entered the Councils of the Imperial Government, judging by the recent order received at Nicolaieff, from the Ministers of War and Interior, to take every precaution and to hold the troops in readiness against disorders expected to take place shortly in South Russia.

"Wm. Geo. Wagstaff.

"Nicolaieff, July 19, 1881.

"P.S. - Since writing the above, details have come to hand of an outbreak a few days ago at Péréyaslav, Government of Poltava. The events that occurred in that town were similar in every respect to the Elizabethgrad disorders, and to confirm what is previously stated, that the main question at issue between the Russian and the Jew is economic, I append a translation of the demands formulated by the peasants, and laid before the committee, composed of officials, four peasants, and three Jews, appointed to investigate the causes of the late disorder: --

" '1. That Jews, members of town councils and provincial assemblies, vice-directors of town banks, members of different institutions and committees, should voluntarily give up their present posts, casting off the cloak of pride and braggadocio, as persons not possessing civic honesty, they are unfit to hold such places.

" '2. That the Jews should impress upon their wives and daughters not to deck themselves out in silk, velvet, gold, &c., as such attire is neither in keeping with their education nor the position they hold in society.

" '3. That the Jews should dismiss from their service all Russian female servants, who after living in Jewish houses, certainly become prostitutes, forget their religion, and who are intentionally depraved by the Jews.

" '4. To banish, without delay, all Jews belonging to other places who do not possess any real property in town.

" '5. To close all drinking- shops ("vodka").

" '6. To forbid Jews to abuse the Christian burgesses ("méstchan") and in general to scoff at them.

" '7. To prohibit Jews from buying up in the markets the first necessities of life with the intention of selling them to the Russians.

" '8. To impress on wholesale dealers in spirits not to mix with vodka any foreign element which is sometimes injurious to health.

" '9. Not to trade on the Sabbath before noon, and at Christmas and Easter not to trade for three days, and not to work on our holidays.

" '10. To prohibit Jews buying wheat for trading purposes within 30 versts of the town of Péréyaslav, and therefore to remove all existing grain and flour stores.

" '11. To prohibit Jews from buying up uncut wheat; also to lease land from private individuals.

" '12. The town council is begged not to let, and the Jews not to hire, the grounds at fairs and at market places, with the object of farming them out.'

" W. G. W."

On October 6, Mr. Wyndham wrote to Lord Granville:

" I have the honour to enclose herewith for your Lordship's information, a translation of a circular addressed by the Minister of the Interior, Count Ignatief, to the governors of provinces instructing them as

to the appointment of local commissions for inquiring into the position of the Jews in the Empire, and as to the causes of the late acts of violence which have been directed against them."

The circular, which is dated August 25 (September 6)' runs as follows:

"For a long time the Government have directed special attention to the very considerable Jewish population residing in Russia, and to the relations existing between the Jews and other races in Russia. Recognising the injurious consequences produced on the Christian population by the economic activity of the Jews, their tribal isolation, exclusiveness and religious fanaticism, the Government, during the last 20 years, have endeavoured by a whole series of measures to facilitate a fusion of the Jewish with the Christian populations, and have almost equalized the rights of the Jews with those enjoyed by the Russian inhabitants. At the same time, the anti-Jewish movement, which broke out in the south in the spring of the present year, and which spread to many districts in Central Russia, proves beyond dispute that, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Government, the abnormal relations between the Jewish race and the native population in those parts continue to exist as formerly.

" Facts elicited during the trial of persons implicated in the disturbances, the report of the administrative authorities, as well as memorials, &c., from private individuals, prove that the main cause of the movement, so foreign to the character of the Russian people, consists in circumstances of a purely economic character. During the last 20 years the Jews have gradually got into their hands not only the trade and industry, but have also acquired by deed of purchase and leases considerable landed estates, and, owing to their numbers and solidarity, they have, with few exceptions, directed all their efforts, not towards increasing the productiveness of the country, but to the spoliation of the native population, chiefly the poorer class, by which means they called forth a protest from the latter, which, unfortunately expressed itself in a violent form. Having energetically suppressed the disturbances and arbitrary proceedings that had occurred, so as to protect the Jews from violence, the Government considered it just and indispensable to take no less energetic measures in removing the present abnormal condition existing between the native population and the Jews, and further to

protect that population from the baneful activity of the Jews, which, according to local accounts, was the cause of the agitation. With this view commissions also being appointed for obtaining information on the following questions: -

" 1. What phases generally of the economic activity of the Jews are specially injurious to the prosperity of the population in given localities?

" 2. What are the obstacles met with in practice in those parts in applying the existing laws affecting the Jews in regard to the purchase and lease of land, the traffic in spirituous liquors, and in money lending.

" 3. What alterations (in the sense of abrogation or complement) in existing laws is considered necessary to prevent the Jews from evading the laws, and what measures generally, legislative and administrative, should be adopted in order to paralyse the pernicious influence of the Jews on those forms of economic activity which the commission shall indicate; and

" 4. The following information is to be collected and supplied by the commissions, together with the conclusions arrived at by them: -

" (a) The proportion of Jews to the Christian population in towns, districts, and villages.

" (b) The number of gin shops kept by Jews in person or through the medium of Christians.

" (c) The number of persons in the employ of Jews, both in their private houses and places of business.

" (d) The quantity of land purchased by Jews or rented by them; and

" (e) The number of Jewish land proprietors.

" At the same time it is advisable that the above programme, which embraces the information it would be desirable to possess, should in no way embarrass the commissions in their labours, but that it should be carried out so far as possible in conformity with local conditions; and,

therefore, all other questions relating to local matters and the activity of the Jews may be discussed by the commissions and submitted to the Ministry of the Interior."

One of the later despatches from Consul-General Stanley refers to the communications on this subject from a correspondent which were printed in the *Times*: -

"Odessa. Jan. 18.

" My Lord, - In the *Times* of the 11th and 13th instant are two communications headed, 'The Persecution of the Jews in Russia.'

" Among the riots described are the disturbances which took place at Odessa last May, and this description is so incorrect and exaggerated, and the descriptions of what took place at some other of the places mentioned so far exceed in horrors the descriptions given to me by eye-witnesses at those places, that I think very little faith can be given to any part of it, more especially to the accounts of the violations of women.

"As to Odessa, the statement is that the Governor-General took no precautions, though informed of the probable rising; that a Jew called Handelman was killed, that 11 Jewesses were violated, one of whom died in consequence, and that the police estimated the value of the Jews' property destroyed at 1,137,381 roubles.

"There is hardly any truth in all this.

"The Governor-General, Prince Dondoukoff-Korsakoff, took large precautions beforehand, collecting and disposing the troops and police as he best could, and he issued a proclamation warning the people against joining in any disturbances, and expressing his determination and ability to suppress them should any occur. On isolated disturbances occurring, he was most active and energetic, accompanying the troops, and personally arresting some disturbers.

"No Jew called Handelman nor any other Jew was killed, nor did any Jew subsequently die from injuries received during the disturbances. One Jew, named Siabkin, four days after the disturbances, entered into a dispute with a Russian, who struck him with a stick shod with iron, and so injured him that he died subsequently in hospital.

"No Jewesses were violated here, nor were women in any way assaulted. I have taken pains to question Jews of all classes, and none know of such a case.

"The claim sent in by the Jewish community amounted to 300,000 roubles. For this they were reprimanded by the better class of Jews, who told them it was shameful to make such an excessive claim. They admitted it was excessive, but excused themselves, saying that, by asking much, they might get something approximate to their losses. A most respectable Jew has told me that the losses at the highest estimate could not have exceeded 50,000 roubles.

"In my despatch of the 28th of May last I gave on account of the disturbances here, and set down the losses of the Jews at about £2000 or 20,000 roubles.

"With a fuller knowledge of what took place than when I then wrote, I see no reason to change anything in that despatch, and my opinion of Jews in their relation to Russia and Russians as therein expressed remains unchanged; but no possible good can result to the Jews from such gross exaggerations as are contained in the accounts published in *The Times*.

"That the Russian authorities during these outbreaks were generally most apathetic and neglectful of their duties, allowing the brutal mobs to plunder and illtreat the Jews, and that these suffered terribly in loss of property and loss of home, that no compensation has yet been given them, and that they are still in reasonable fear of similar scenes occurring, there is no doubt; but throughout these riots there has been little loss of life, and violations of women have, I believe. been most rare.

"It is possible, as alleged in *The Times*, that there may have been such. I know of one case at Elizabethgrad, when a common soldier violated a Jewess who had been placed under his protection by an officer.

"Many Jews have mentioned this case to me, but none to whom I have spoken have heard of others, and they say it is incredible they should have occurred without being known to Jews throughout the land.

"I am endeavouring to collect from eye-witnesses - Jews whose possible narratives of what happened at the different places mentioned in *The Times*, which, if I find valuable, I will do myself the honour of submitting to your Lordship.

"They will, I believe, tell a sufficiently dreadful and disgraceful tale, but not so full of horrors as *The Times* account.

" I have, &c.,

"G. K. Stanley.

"P.S. - I have just seen a Polish gentleman whose estates are at Berezowka, one of the places mentioned by *The Times*. He tells me that he was there at the time of the disturbance that the account given in *The Times* of the disturbances there is altogether untrue; that no Jew was killed or subsequently died in consequence of injuries received, and that no Jewess was violated G.E.S."

The outrages in Warsaw form the subject of a despatch from Colonel Maude, dated Warsaw, December 30, and of a report by Mr. Law, the former Vice-Consul at St. Petersburg, whose report on the riots in South-west Russia we have already referred to. The Warsaw outbreak began, it will be remembered, in an accident at the Church of the Holy Cross, caused by a false alarm of fire. The calamity was wantonly attributed to the Jews, who were pillaged and outraged by the mob, unchecked by police or soldiers, for more than 30 hours. Colonel Maude states that the damage done amounted to nearly £100,000, most of it falling upon the poorest class of Jews; and that about 100 Jews were subjected to personal violence, of whom perhaps, 10 or 12 had died of their injuries. Mr. Law speaks of several Jews being brutally ill-used, but is disinclined to believe in the stories of women being outraged. The suffering was mainly confined to the poorer Jews, as the richer, who dwelt together in one quarter of the town, collected together, resisted and worsted the mob. The

number of families ruined in the Warsaw outrages was estimated by the *Novoe Vremya* at over 6000, by the *Golos* at 2011. Speaking of the attitude of respectable citizens towards the rioters, Mr. Law is sorry to state that "a spirit of religious fanaticism appeared to render an immense majority of them temporarily blind to the enormity of the crimes which were committed before their eyes, and with their undoubted approval."

A statement has been prepared by the Russo-Jewish Committee of London, signed by Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild (published in *The Times* of March 2 and 3), intended to support the narrative of the correspondent of that journal, and as a reply to the consular reports. The statement is composed of extracts from a large number of letters detailing atrocities of the most revolting character: -

"The committee state that they are unhappily in a position to prove too conclusively the occurrence of the outrages published in *The Times*. The letters they have since received, and the personal evidence of refugees who have fled from the scenes of the disturbances, afford corroborative evidence of the most undeniable kind. The letters come from persons occupying high official position! in the Jewish community, and other well-known persons, for whose trustworthiness the committee can vouch. In these pages the names of the writers are suppressed, as their liberty, possibly their lives, would be imperilled by their publication. The names of those who have perished from murder or from the effects of rape are given in full, but those of violated women who have survived are given in initials only, it being obvious from the correspondence that the friends of the injured parties are sedulously, and most naturally, striving to avoid the scandal of further publicity. The committee are, however, prepared, if necessary, to place in the hands of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in confidence the names of the persons and places herein referred to by initials or blanks.

"Dr.-----, a Rabbi of eminence, writes: - "There is one matter to which I beg to draw the attention of the great, the noble, the incomparable English nation. The plan is entertained in Russia of calling upon the Jews to give a flat denial to the reports in *The Times*. The knowledge of this has produced great consternation among the Jews. They are persecuted,

outraged, murdered; they are hemmed in by legal penalties and restrictions," and deprived of all privileges. And yet, persecuted, outraged, and murdered as they are, they are compelled to deny these barbarities before the world. It does not admit of any doubt that the Jews, baited and bounded to death, will do all that is demanded of them. The wise and noble people of England will know what weight should be attached to such denials and refutations.'

"Some of the worst instances of outrages on women and of murder took place at Kieff, and as the committee have a large body of evidence as to this town, it may be taken as a representative case.

"Full and circumstantial details, as collected by a resident in Kieff, of the terrible violations of women, and the barbarous murder in that town, are given. This letter alone should suffice to set at rest any doubt as to the occurrences, and it is likewise of value as indicating the exertions of the Russian authorities to suppress the truth. After recording 14 cases of violation, the writer proceeds: - 'All these outrages have taken place in that part of the town which is called Demievka; in the other parts of the town I can gather no information as to the names of the persons violated, for the girls and women deny their shame. They are all modest women and do not understand the good they are able to do by admitting the outrage. They only think of the love of their husbands and their estimation in the eyes of their friends. Of course nobody could think beforehand that such outrages would be perpetrated, nor that such a cry of sympathy would arise, otherwise we should have more carefully collected names and dates. As it is, we are, of course, ignorant of the names of most of the perpetrators of these crimes. Nor are we able, after nine months have passed, to impel our sisters to come forward to trumpet out their shame, and to tear open again the wounds which are just beginning to close. If the English consuls, in investigating these matters, may not find facts in accordance with the outcry that has been raised - and occasion will be taken to represent to them the report of the outrages to be altogether untrue - we do not know how to help ourselves. If they require that justice should be done by all technicalities of a legal investigation after the elapse of nine months then certainly we are unable clearly to prove our case. But our firm hope is that they are just and discriminating men, who are able to judge the case on its merits; who understand the difficulties of reopening cases of such delicacy.'

"The writer then gives details of some of the outrages, the murderous assaults, the pillage and plunder committed on innocent, defenceless, altogether helpless people. He adds -- These few facts will give you a correct idea of numberless barbarities. We are unable to give the details of all of them. We could not imagine at the time, indeed it did not strike us as possible, that in another part of the world people, stirred by feelings of compassion, and by their sense of what is right, would take the matter in hand on our behalf. Since the beginning of the outrages we have not come to rest. All officials, from great to small, rage against us. The newspapers do their utmost to hold us up to the contempt of all. It is not enough that we have lost our substance, we are also said to possess no feelings of honour and of humanity. Our testimony and even our oath are not admitted by them. They incite and rouse the population against us. They declare that all we say is false. Thus the *Petersburgskie Vedomosti* wrote the other day, in the name of the Government, that the sympathy of England with our sufferings will exasperate the mob against us. Evidently the Government wants to keep us in awe of its most dreaded tool and weapon, the mob. Afterwards they can easily wash their hands of it, and say that it was not their fault, but only our own. Thus the Government states now that 3000 ruffians have been brought to justice. But who does not know that the prisoners were immediately set at liberty; that Strelnikoff openly declared that the Jews were guilty? Who knows not what was the punishment inflicted in Warsaw on the miscreants? Who is ignorant of the commissions and new hostile decrees that are springing up every day? It would appear that the Government indicates by all this that it fully approves of the Jews being murdered. It asserts from itself by this procedure the dissatisfaction of the populace with the prevailing disorder and poverty. The Jews are given up as a spoil to divert the current of disaffection. So the mob finds something to do, and gains profit without toil or labour, and the Government can expose the Jews as the cause of the poverty of the peasants and of the curse which lies on the land. But while the worm of Jacob is thus trodden under the iron hoofs and ravening lions strangle the scattered sheep of Israel, a light is dawning from a distance. Upright men have risen in anger over the abominable deeds that have been committed; and we have firm hopes that they, in the uprightness of their heart, will understand the case thoroughly, and will not be misled by falsehood and fabrications. Here we are in surest distress; every newspaper writer tramples upon us; every official vents his

anger against us. The worst names are given us - disturbers of the land, bloodsucking leeches. Our faith is reviled, our law scoffed at, our blood spilt as water. Our hopeless eyes are turned to our brethren beyond the sea; perhaps they are able to assist us."

One of the letters states that "the *Journal de St. Petersbourg*, which is the official organ of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has just published an article, which reflects the sentiments of the Russian Government with reference to the agitation manifested in England on account of the persecution of the Jews in Russia. After imputing, in the first instance, all kinds of interested motives to those who have taken part in the movement, the paper goes on to declare that the details published in *The Times* concerning the atrocities committed are malevolent, and in many cases exaggerated. It would seem that the onus should be cast on the official paper to move its assertion, but it is careful, and with good reason, not to undertake such a duty. It is careful to conceal the fact that the official documents, and the dispatches submitted to the local authorities, who have to pass judgment on the most important of these facts, have been scrupulously withheld from publication. As long as the Government withholds these documents the public is well justified in reposing entire confidence in the details published in *The Times*, confirmed, as they are, moreover, by a large amount of testimony emanating from the most reliable and trustworthy sources. With a levity which borders on effrontery, the official journal ventures even to deny the numerous cases of outrages on women cited in *The Times*, and this on the sole ground that the foreign newspapers did not publish at the turn of perpetration any details of these outrages, and that none of the victims have lodged any complaint with the local authorities. We are, of course, not aware whether the foreign newspapers did abstain at the time from mentioning these attacks, or whether the unhappy women and maidens, intimidated as they are by the hostile attitude of the authorities, have ventured to bare the details, being themselves ignorant even of the names of those who perpetrated upon them the acts in question. But if the official journal is indeed so certain that there is not a trace of these crimes to be found in the official documents furnished to its own authorities, it can easily and completely become convinced of their truth by addressing itself to the local relief committee at Kieff. This body is composed of men whose honour the Governing itself would not venture to impeach; and they will attest that in Kieff alone, without mentioning other cities, 23 cases of

violation of women have lately been proved beyond question." The extent of the miseries inflicted and the fears excited by the persecutions of the Jews of Russia may be gauged by the fact that, notwithstanding the obstacles placed in the way of quitting the country, several thousands have already escaped as fugitives from the land which ceases to protect them. Of these some have already found their way to this country, en route for the United States, and among them have been found not a few who were eye-witnesses of the excesses. Depositions of some of these eye-witnesses have been taken in the presence of gentlemen of high character and position. The sickening details given in them do not by any means exhaust the dark catalogue of horrors perpetrated by the lawless rioters, and tacitly sanctioned by official abettors. The full history of these brutal persecution will never be written, so many of the victims born dead, and so many of the survivors being unwilling, or not daring to disclose the terrible truth.

"The issue (says the *Statement*) may be put thus: - 'The evidence adduced by the consul as to the outrages is for the most part negative and hearsay evidence, and cannot weigh against the positive evidence of eye-witnesses and other trustworthy sources of information. The consuls could only seek the information from Russians on the one hand, and from Jews on the other. The Russians were the culprits, and necessarily denied their guilt; the Jews were the victims, and dared not speak. In the presence of this conflicting evidence, let the public judge.'"

On the above statement *The Times*, which, throughout its comments, takes it for granted that all the statements are true, remarks: - "This document is well worthy of the close attention of the public. It will be remembered that on the 11th and 13th of last January we published a description of the horrors of which Southern Russia had during last year been the scene, and that this description was afterwards severely criticised in many quarters. Our informants were accused of exaggeration, and even of willful misstatement, the Russian press being especially indignant at what it declared to be one-sided rumours or mere inventions. Soon afterwards there were published the consular reports on the same subject consisting of a number of despatches from British Consular Agents throughout Russia, dated for the most part during last summer, with a special despatch from Consular-General Stanley, from Odessa contraverting some of the statements that appeared in our columns. The

Russo-Jewish Committee sitting in London have made it their business to collect further evidence to show that we had not been misinformed. This evidence is now before our readers, who will, we fear, admit that it does nothing but confirm in the fullest and most terrible manner the accounts which we published last January. The witnesses are principally of two classes, the refugees who have made good their escape from Russia, and who are passing through this country in their way to America, and the Rabbis of the Russian Jewish Congregation. It is difficult to see what better evidence could be forthcoming. The refugees, it is true, are people who have every inducement to make out a bad case against their persecutors; but they tell a consistent story, and, without collusion, they confirm each other, and to a great extent confirm the accounts which come to us from elsewhere. "
